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159 To complete the picture of the immediate Miller family, we must mention the five children, four of which are Miller's offspring by his deceased wife. Adoph is Miller's oldest, perhaps ten or eleven years. Charlie, about the same age, is the son of Miller's deceased wife's brother. Julia, about seven years old; Pipi, about four; and a baby girl, about three years old, are all Miller's daughters by his former wife.

583 Miller's house stands roughly in the center of his clearing. Grouped around his house in more or less satellitical fashion are the structures housing three other families. Caroline, a younger sister of Miller, is a jolly matron of perhaps thirty-five years. She is the female jester of the settlement, a position which she filled too well for the liking of her former husband, one MacDonald, who now lives at Powis Hill with another woman. Her two young boys live with MacDonald at Powis Hill, her two girls stayed with their mother. It seems that Caroline and MacDonald were living at Kwamata until they broke up their marriage about a year ago, after which Caroline and her two girls repaired to Sawari to be under the protection of Miller. Shortly before my arrival at Sawari, a young man named Henry, Caroline's junior by perhaps twelve years, visiting his brothers Samuel, Columbus, and Henry Daniel of Sawari, attended a cassiri spree at Miller's house. At this time Henry, for reasons best known to himself, decided to become the husband of Caroline, although he already was the husband of a woman in Kurewa settlement. In this decision, as in many others, the hand of Miller was apparent. Aside from a fraternal interest in the happiness of Caroline, Miller also has reason to surround himself with sturdy young men who can cut fields and build korials for him, activities in which he is handicapped by the condition of his arm. According to the gossip of the village, therefore, Henry was won over by promises of cutlasses, knives, axes, and other trade goods. This bait, together with the proximity of his brothers and a quarrel with his Kurewa wife, apparently influenced Henry to remain, and accordingly he set to work to build a house for himself and Caroline. As it became apparent that Miller did not possess the trade goods which had been so slyly mentioned, it was evident that Henry was taking a more and more half-hearted interest in the arrangement. When one-half of the house roof was finished he joined a group of men

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going to Towakaima to carry supplies for me back to Sawari. 583
On the way to Towakaima he passed through Kurewa, made things up with his woman there, and during the rest of my stay in Sawari did not reappear. Caroline and her girls continued to live in the half-roofed house, doing their share of the field work, but depending for meat upon the efforts of Miller and Samuel.

Caroline and Elizabeth (the wife of Samuel) are not only sisters, 572
but also great chums. Elizabeth is probably five years younger 593
than Caroline, but both are buxom, lovers of a joke, and slightly lazy. They spend much of their time together, and their shrieking laughter can be heard almost any time of the day, if they are in the settlement, and late into the night. They are perfect foils for each other, Caroline loud and boisterous, Elizabeth quieter and cleverer. Few people I know consistently have as much fun together as Caroline and Elizabeth. Samuel, Elizabeth's husband, is her junior by perhaps ten years. He is shorter and considerably less bulky than she. Also he is quieter. But from all the signs, they are perfectly devoted to each other. Elizabeth has been living with Samuel more than a year. With them live her two little girls, Katrina and Mary, aged about five and seven respectively, children of her first (deceased) husband.

Samuel's brother Columbus has his own house on the other side 592
of Miller's establishment. He lives with Susan, a young girl not yet come to puberty. Susan receives help from the women of Miller's household in cooking and field work, in return for which Columbus assists Miller in field cutting, korial building, and shares his game with Miller's household.

Separated by a hedge of cotton bushes from the afore-men- 554
tioned households, stand the houses of David, his son Joseph; his 791
son-in-law Joseph, and his wife's sister Margaret, on the north side of the clearing. David is an old man possibly of sixty years who enjoys the double distinction of being the father-in-law of Miller and the piaiyen (or priest) of the village. He is also distinguished in the possession of a withered right arm, perhaps the result of early paralysis. (He says that he cannot remember a time when this arm was as large as the left one.) He has never been renowned for his physical strength or hunting ability, but is the village repository for such myths and legends as are extant in the group. For his learning and religious powers he is much respected.

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572 times assist each other in work, sometimes hunt together, and enjoy each other's conversation and company.

572 621 Friendship is, however, a factor in the formation and stability of the settlement. Thus, Cook's original presence in Sawari was due to his friendship with Miller. A weakening of that relation gave rise to Cook's removal of his residence away from the near vicinity of Miller, the gathering of a group of families around him, and to the eventual rift between the two clearings. John's presence in Cook's settlement evidently is due simply to mutual liking on the parts of the two men. Edwin has a close friend named William in the settlement of Kurewa, and this friendship is doubtless to some extent responsible for the intermediate position which Edwin's family enjoys in the social life of Sawari.

I found no evidence that the friendships between women had any dynamic effect on social groupings in this settlement. Women's friends here, as elsewhere on the Barama, are the result of residence or contiguity determined by other factors.

561 **Age and Sex.** Well defined age groups are not present in Carib society. Girls are secluded at their first menstruation and are exhorted on the duties and conduct becoming to an adult woman by their older female relatives at this time, but without ceremony. This is the only special recognition taken of age changes. Nevertheless, as among all societies which do not formalize the age boundaries, informal recognition is taken of children, youths, adults, and old people.

895 583 Although not stated in so many words, an individual is not considered a full-fledged member of society until he is married. For instance, an underlying conception of this sort seems to motivate the proof of adulthood which is required of a man before the first marriage, and which takes the form of tests of fitness. (This seems at least as large a factor in the housebuilding, field-cutting, and hunting requirements demanded from the groom by his father-in-law as the factor of payment for the bride. Such tests are not required of a man at his subsequent marriages.) A woman's ability to care for a house and field, which is proven to the community after marriage, is apparently demanded before she is accepted as a full-fledged member of the female community. Also, both sexes assume certain responsibilities toward each other and toward the community at marriage (self-sustenance for their

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household, a certain amount of fidelity to each other, rearing of children) which are not required of them before marriage.

Old people, of whom there are relatively few in this society, are treated with respect, but not exaggerated deference. In fact in many respects they are considered less than complete members of society, inasmuch as they are unable to carry out many of the functions required of more vigorous members of the group. The respect for old age varies with the intelligence of the aged individual. For instance, David at Sawari is deferred to on account of his lore and skill in religious techniques; his mind is still functioning actively, and thereby he maintains his social position despite his uselessness as a hunter and laborer. He is the only aged person in Sawari, and he is by no means completely decrepit. Two very infirm old women observed by me, one at Kurasani, the other at Baramita, were unable to move from their hammocks. They were fed and treated well, but ignored in regard to the decisive actions of their respective communities. Several old men, still more or less active physically, whom I observed at various places in the area, occupied positions no better and no worse than their personalities, physical exploits, and intelligence won for them. There is no pattern of implicitly obeying old age, of consulting it with reverence, simply because of age.

The Drinking Spree. We have discussed the underlying factors which serve to hold the individuals of the group together. In an individualistic community, where everyone goes about his own business and is largely self-reliant, what mechanism is at work to remind the members of the group of their common interests? We have seen that in everyday affairs men and women may meet face to face in pairs or threes, incidentally to their daily life, but we have as yet seen no occasion on which all the members of the group come together to renew the ties that bind them into one community. If one searches for a mechanism which periodically reunites the group, a mechanism of socialization, I think it must be found in the drinking spree.[1]

Throughout the year, when the cassava can be spared for making drink, sprees are held occasionally. During the months of

[1] Certain religious functions call together the whole community, notably the supplication to the spirits for a good cassava crop (described in the section on Religion). On these occasions, however, the lay members of the settlement are merely spectators or auditors of the ritual carried on by the piaiyen.

*177 582 seventy-seven marriages in existence among the Air Strip segment of the population, twenty-two were actual cross cousin marriages. No

*177 588 marriages occurred among parallel cousins. One marriage has occurred outside specified categories. There is one instance of a union between a man and his grandaughter. The woman grew up with her grandparents. When the grandmother died, she became the wife. They now have five children and are discriminated against in no way.

*177 582 584 Marriage now involves the interests of a much more limited group of people, specifically the nuclear family and the member being added through a marriage tie. No longer are there tests of any sort for the

[602] [583] new son-in-law. Principally, this is because no longer is there a category of cooperating kinsmen to administer them. Among specific individuals, token gifts, such as a new matapi, may be made by a new, nonresident son-in-law. However, this is not formalized. Also, the

*177 606 previous display of deference between a new husband and his father-in-law and mother-in-law has been greatly abandoned.[11] Much more, the personalities of these individuals now influence the nature of their relationships.

*177 60 Consistently in this investigation of kinship data, causes external to the system have been outlined. The kinship system and changes in it correspond to adaptive organization among the Upper Barama River Carib population. The adaptation effective for subsistence in the rain forest has been replaced by a social organization for the inclusion of external resources. Throughout this inquiry into social organization among the Upper Barama River Caribs, the material conditions, specifically the resources available, have been considered.